Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 LAGOS 04772 01 OF 02 281637Z
ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 W
----------281707Z 030974 /41
O R 281522Z APR 77
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 767
INFO AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN
AMEMBASSY ACCRA
AMEMBASSY ALGIERS
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
AMEMBASSY DAKAR
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM
AMEMBASSY KINSHASA IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY LISBON
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY LUSAKA
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMEMBASSY NIAMEY
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY PRETORIA
AMEMBASSY WARSAW
USMISSION USUN NY
AMEMBASSY RABAT

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 LAGOS 4772

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR, CG, AO
SUBJECT: ANGOLA/ZAIRE: GARBA'S MEETING WITH MOBUTU

REF: LAGOS 4644

SUMMARY: IN MEETING S WITHIGARBA IN LUBUMBASHI APRIL26-27 MOBUTU
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 LAGOS 04772 01 OF 02 281637Z

EXPRESSED CONFIDENCE HE WOULD BE ABLE EXPEL KATANGANS FROM SHABA
WITHIN TWO WEEKS. HE WOULD THEN BE PLEASED NEGOTIATE WITH NETO
"ANYWHERE AT NAY TIME" PROVIDED A BORDER POLICE FORCE COULD BE
FIRST PUT INTO PLACE TO PATROL BETWEEN DILOLO AND LUASHI 156 KILO-
METERS EAST OF DILOLO. MOBUTU IS WILLING TO ACCEPT SIMILAR PATROLS
ELSEWHERE TO PROTECT ANGOLA AGAINST FNLA AND FLEC IF NET WANTS
THEM. MOBUTU WANTS NIGERIA TO CHOOSE TWO AFRICAN COUNTRIES TO

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

PROVIDE THE PATROLS UNDER NIGERIAN COMMAND. OBASANJO HAS AGREED IN PRINCIPLE. GARBA WILL PROCEED TO LUANDA TO SEE NETO TUESDAY, MAY 3, TO URGE NETO TO ACCEPT THIS SCENARIO BUT FEARS THE SOVIETS ARE HOLDING NETO BACK. HE IS SEEKING WAYS TO PERSUADE THE SOVIETS TO PLAY A RESPONSIBLE ROLE IN BRINGING PEACE BETWEEN ZAIRE AND ANGOLA. END SUMMARY

1. GARBA CALLED ME TO HIS OFFICE THIS MORNING TO BRIEF ME ON HIS TALKS WITH MOBUTU APRIL 26-27. HE MET WITH MOBUTU SHORTLY AFTER REACHING LUBUMBASHI TUESDAY EVENING, APRIL 26, HAD A SECOND AND LONGER MEETING WITH HIM YESTERDAY MORNING, AND THEN ACCOMPANIED HIM TO KOLWEZI. GARBA RETURNED LAST NIGHTSTOSLAGOS, REPORTED TO OBASANJO ON THE RESULTS OF HIS TRIP, AND THUS WAS ABLE THIS MORNING TO GIVE ME OBASANJO'S REACTION ON CERTAIN KEY QUES-TIONS WITH WHICH THE NIGERIA INITIATIVE MUST NOW DEAL.

2. GARBA WAS HEARTENED BY MOBUT'S POSITIVE ATTITUDE TOWARD THE NIGERIAN INITIATIVE AND BY THE MODERATE NATURE OF THE VIEWS HE EXPRESSED CONCERNING NETO AND ANGOL'S ROLE IN THE SHABA AFFAIR. GARBA ADMITTED HE WAS SURPRISED TO FIND MOBUTU SO FORTHCOMING, HAVING ANTICIPATED THATSINCREASING MOROCCAN/ZAIRIAN MILITARY SUC-CESSSON THE GOUND MIGHT MAKE MOBUTU STUBBORN AND VINDICTIVE, MOBUTU SAID HE EXPECTED THE MILITARY CAMPAIGN TO BE FINISHED WITHIN A WEEK OR TWO. IT WAS THE MINES THAT GAVE THE MOST TROUBLE. WITHOUT THEM, HE WOULD EXPECT TO PACIFY THE AREA EVEN SOONER. THE KATANGANS WERE IN FLIGHT. THEY WERE ABANDONING AMMUNI-TION, WEAPONS AND MATERIAL. THEY WERE NOT RPT NOT REVERTING TO GUERRILLA STATUS. ONCE MOBUTU HAD SUCCEEDED IN PUSHING THEM BACK INTO ANGOLA, HE WOULD POSE ONLY ONE PREREQUISITE TO SITTNG
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

DOWN "ANYWHERESAND ANY TIME" WITH NETO. THAT PREREQUISITE WAS THE STATIONING OF A BORDER OBSERVER FORCE BETWEEN DILOLO AND LUASHI.

3. GARBA AND MOBUTU HAD LENGTHY DISCUSSIONS CONCERNING SUCH A BORDER PATROL FORCE. WHEN MOBUTU FIRST RAISED THIS PROPOSAL TUES-DAY NIGHT, HE HAD PROPOSED THREE LOCATIONS AT WHICH THE OBSERVER FORCES SHOULD BE STATIONED. GARBA DID NOT RECALL THE NAME OF THE THIRD SITE. THE NEXT MORNING, HOWEVER, MOBUT SAID THAT DILOLO AND LUASHI WOULD SUFFICE PROVIDED PATROLS COULD EFFECTIVELY COVER THE 156 KM. BETWEEN THEM. MOBUTU FIRST ASKED THAT THE ATROL FORCES BE COMPOSED SOLELY OF NIGERIAN MILITARY PERSONNEL. GARBA SAID THE FMG COULD NOT DO THAT. MOBUTU THEN SUGGESTED THAT ZAIRE CHOOSE ONE COUNTRY TO PROVIDE TROOPS AND ANGOLA CHOOSE ANOTHER. WHEN GARBA NOTED THESDIFFICULTIES THATSWOULD DEVELOP IN THE EVENT ANGOLA CHOSE ALGERIA, MOBUTU SUGGESTED THAT NIGERIA CHOOSE THE TWO COUNTRIES. GARBA TOLD MOBUTU HE WOULD PURSUE THIS IDEA IN LAGOS. GARBA TOLD ME THAT HE HAS OBTAINED OBASANJO'S AGREEMENT IN PRINCIPLE TO SUCH A SCHEME. OBASANJO WOULD BE WILLING FOR NIGERIA TO RUN THE OBSERVER FORCE AND PROVIDE OFFICERS AND EQUIP-

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

MENT BUT NO RPT NO TROOPS. (GARBA SAID CRYPTICALLY "YOU KNOW HOW OUR SOLDIERS ARE".)

4. GARBA ASKED MOBUT HOW HE WOULD REACT IF NETO WERE TO INSIST ON SIMILAR BORDER PATROLS TO PROTECT ANGOLA FROM FNLA INCURSIONS ALONG ITS NORTHERN BORDER WITH ZAIRE AND SIMILARLY TO PROTECT CABINDA AGAINST FLEC. MOBUTU SAID HE WOULD HAVE NO RPT NO PROBLEM WITH THIS.

5. MOBUTU SAID THAT, ONCE THE OBSERVER FORCE WAS IN PLACE, HE WOULD BE WILLING TO "FORGET THE WHOLE QUESTION OF NETO'S SPONSORSHIP OF THE KATANGAN INVASION." EVEN IF NETO "CALLED HIM A ROGUE," HE WOULD STILL BE PREPARED TO DISCUSS THE "THE REAL ISSUES" WITHOUT RHETORIC AND WITHOUT RECRIMINATION. HE WOULD BE EVEN WILLING TO ACCEPT THE PREMISE THAT THE KATANGAN "INVASION" WAS ESSENTIALLY AN INTERNAL SHABA PROBLEM RATHER THANSAGGRESSION PLANNED AND SUPPORTED BY ANGOLA. (GARBA SAID HE WAS AMAZED TO
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 LAGOS 04772 01 OF 02 281637Z

HEAR MOBUTU SAY THIS.)

6. GARBA SAID HE HAD NOT YET HAD TIME TO DISCUSS WITH OBASANJO IN ANY DETAIL THE POSSIBLE CANDIDATES NIGERIA MIGHT CONSIDER IN CHOOSING TWO COUNTRIES TO PROVIDE BORDER PATROL FORCES. HE HAD PERSONALLY TENTATIVELY CONSIDERED GHANA AND NIGER. HE THOUGHT ONE COMPANY MIGHT BE SUFFICIENT FOR THE DILOLO/LUASHI AREA. IN THE NIGERIAN ARMY A COMPANY CONSISTS OF 250 SOLDIERS. HE THOUGHT THE SIZE OF GHANIAN AND NIGER COMPANIES MIGHT BE SOMEWHAT SMALLER, IN WHICH CASE A FULL COMPANY FROM EACH COUNTRY MIGHT BE NEEDED.

7. GARBA ASKED MOBUTU IF HE WAS PREPARED TO REINTEGRATE THE KATANGANS INTO SHABA SOCIETY. MOBUTU SAID THAT HEADS OF STATE MUST RULE BOTH GOOD AND BAD PEOPLE. IF THE KATANGANS WERE PREPARED TO RETURN TO SHABA WITH PEACEFUL INTENTIONS, HE WOULD PROVIDE AMNESTY AND WELCOME THEM BACK. HE HAD ALWAYS BEEN WILLING TO DO THIS BUT NETO HAD BEEN HOLDINGSTHEM BACK.
EASUM

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 LAGOS 04772 02 OF 02 281701Z
ACTION SS-25

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 W
----------281708Z 031396 /41
O R 281522Z APR 77
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 768
INFO AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN
AMEMBASSY ACCRA
AMEMBASSY ALGIERS
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
AMEMBASSY DAKAR
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM
AMEMBASSY KINSHASA IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY LISBON
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY LUSAKA
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMEMBASSY NIAMEY
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY PRETORIA
AMEMBASSY WARSAW
USMISSION USUN NY
AMEMBASSY RABAT

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 LAGOS 4772/2

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR, CG, AO
SUBJECT: ANGOLA/ZAIRE: GARBA'S MEETING WITH MOBUTU

REF: LAGOS 4644

8. NOTING MOBUTU'S CRITICISM OF ARAB COUNTRIES IN THE PAST,
GARBA ASKED WHETHER HIS ATTITUDES TOWARD NORTH AFRICANS HAD
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 LAGOS 04772 02 OF 02 281701Z

CHANGED AS A RESULT OF MOROCCO'S ASSISTANCE. MOBUTU SAID HE WAS
DUTY-BOUND TO THANK THE MOROCCANS FOR THEIR HELP BUT HE CERTAINLY
WAS NOT UNDER THEIR INFLUENCE IN ANY WAY. THE MOROCCANS CAME OUT
OF GOOD WILL RATHERN THAN FOR POLITICAL OBJECTIVES.

9. GARBA QUESTIONED MOBUTU ABOUT HIS ECONOMIC DEALINGS WITH
SOUTH AFRICA. MOBUTU'S REPLY, WHICH STRIKES ME AS HIGHLY INCOM-
PLETE, WAS THAT WITH TWO EXCEPTIONS THERE WERE NO SOUTH AFRI-
CAN INVESTMENTS IN ZAIRE. THESEXCEPTIONS WERE A DIAMOND CONCESSION
GIVEN TO OPPENHEIMER INTERESTS BY BELGIUM IN THE DAYS OF THE
CONGO ANDSTHE TOBACCO OPERATIONSOF TABAC ZAIRE WHICH WAS LARGELY

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

INDIGENIZED BUT CONTINUED TO CONTAIN SOUTH AFRICAN CAPITAL. GARBA SAID NGUZA HAD GIVEN HIM THE SAME ANSWER.

10 GARBA ASKED MOBUTU ABOUT HIS RELATIONS WITH UNITA AND WHETHER THERE WERE ANY UNTIA ELEMENTS IN ZAIRE. MOBUTU REPLIED THAT THERE WAS " NOT A SINGLE UNITA MAN" IN ZAIRE. IF HE HEARD OF ONE HE WOULD SEND A HLICOPTER TO ROOT HIM OUT.

11. GARBA SAIDSHE DIDN'T LEARN VERY MUCH FROM HIS TRIP TO KOLWEZI. HE SAW SIGNIFICATN QUANTITIES OF CAPTURES AMMUNITION OF SOVIET MANUFACTURE BUT DIDN'T THINK THIS PROVED VERY MUCH SINCE ONE COULD DOUBTLESS OBTAIN SOVET ARMS FROM A NUMBER OF SOURCES WITH OR WITHOUT POSITIVE SOVIETN SPONSORSHIP. GARBA SAID MOBUTU'S SINGLE REFERENCE TO A CUBAN ROLE IN THE INVASION WAS VAGUE AND UNCONVINC-ING.

12.GARBA PLANS TOSFLY TO LUANDA TUESDAY, MAY 3, TO SEE NETO. AS HE HAS NO DIRECT COMMUNICATIONS LINK WITH LUANDA, GARBA HAS ASKED THE NIGERIAN HIGH COMMISSION IN LONDON TO CONFIRM THE APPONT-MENT WITH THE NIGERIAN AMBASSADORIN LUANDA. NETO IS SCHEDULED TO RETURN TO LUANDA FROM EUROPE TODAY WITH A BRIEF REFUELING STOP IN KANO.

13 GARBA SAID HE PRSONALLY BELIEVED THAT THE SOVIETS WERE
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 LAGOS 04772 02 OF 02 281701Z

OPPOSED TO NETO'S NORMALIZING ANGOLA'S RELATIONS WITH ZAIRE. THIS BELIEF WAS BASED ON A NUMBER OF RECENT CONVERSATIONS HE HAD HAD ON THIS MATTER (SOVIET UN AMBASSADOR IN NEW YOIR, EAST EUROPEAN OFFICIALS DURING HIS RECENT VISIT THERE, CUBANS AND SOVIETS DURING THE NEW DELHI NAC MEETING, AND THE CUBAN AND SOVIET AMBASS-ADORS IN LAGOS).HE WAS TO TALK AGAIN ABOUT THIS WITH THE SOVIET AMBASSADOR TO NIGERIA AT NOON TODAY,BUT HE DOUBTED HE WOULD MAKE ANY HEADWAY. HE INCREASINGLY BELIEVED THAT THE ANSWER TO THE ANGOLA/ZAIRE PROBLEM WAS TO BE FOUND IN MOSCOW. HE HAD PROPOSED LASTNIGHT TO OBASANJO THAT HE BE AUTHORIZED TO PROCEED TO MOSCOW TO SEE BREZHNEV. OBASANJO HAD BEEN RELUCTANT, FEARING INEVITABLE PRESS ATTENTION TO SUCH A MISSION TO MOSCOW AND CONCERNED OVER THE PUBLIC RELATIONS IMPLICATIONS OF NIGERIA'S ROLE IN AN INITIATIVE THAT MIGHT FAIL. GARBA SAID HWAS STILL TEMPTED BY THE IDEA AND MIGHT RAISE IT AGAIN WITH OBASANJO AFTER HE HAD MORE TIME TO THINK IT THOUGH. HE SAID THE FMG WOULD APPRECIATE ANYTHING THE US MIGHT DO TO PERSUADE THE SOVIETS TO TAKE "AN OBJECTIVE AND HELPFUL VIEW" OF THE ANGOLA/ZAIRE PROBLEM AND OF THE NIGERIAN INITIATIVE.

14. COMMENTS:

A. WHILE WE KNOW VERY LITTLE HERE ABOUT THE SHABA/ANGOLA BORDER, WE ARE PUZZLED THAT MOBUTU APPEARS CONCERNED ONLY ABOUT THE DILOLO-LUASHI SECTOR. WE ARE GUESSING THAT THE KASA RIVER PROVIDES

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

ADEQUATE PROTECTION ALONG THE BORDER TO THE NORTH FROM DILOLO,
AND THAT ONCE ONE IS AS FAR NORTH AND WEST AS TSHIKAPA THERE ARE
SUFFICIENT ETHNIC AND OTHER PROECTIONS. (BUT IS NOT TSHIAPA
GIZENGA'S HOMETOWN?)

B. FOR THE SOVIETS AND CUBANS TO DISCLAIM ANY RESPONSIBILITY
FOR AN "INTERNAL SHABA AFFAIR" IS LESS DISTURBING TO GARBA AND
OBASANJO THAN THEIR APPARENT REFUSAL TO WORK FOR A NEGOTIATER
RESOLUTION OF OVERALL ZAIRE/ANGOLA PROBLEMS.GARBA IS NOT INTER-
ESTED IN DEBATING THE QUESTION OF SOVIET/CUBAN RESPONSIBILITY FOR
THE KATANGAN INVASION. WHAT HS IS SEEKING, SO FAR WITHOUT SUCCESS,
IS SOVIET ENCOURAGEMENT OF NETO (OR AT THE VERY LEAST A HANDS-OFF
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 LAGOS 04772 02 OF 02 281701Z

ATTITUDE) TO SIT DOWN WITH MOBUTU AND WORK OUT A MODUS VIVENDI.
DEPARTMENT MAY WISH CONSIDER WHETHER US INTERCESSION WITH SOVIETS
IN MOSCOW AND/OR WASHINGTON MIGHT BE USEFUL.

C. IN VIEW OF APPARENT SENSTIVITY ON OBASANJAO'S PART TO
PUBLIC VISIBILITY OF NIGERIA'S MEDIATION INITIATIVE, AND IN VIEW
OF EXTENT TO WHICH GARBA IS TAKING US INTO HIS CONFIDENCE, I
SUGGEST THAT OUR STATEMENTS TO THE PRESS CONCERNING THE NIGERIAN
INITIATIVE BE LIMITED TO GENERAL EXPRESSIONS OF APPROVAL,
LEAVING TO FMG THE RELEASE OF MORE PRECISE INFORMATION CONCERNING
NATURE AND STATUS OF THE INITIATIVE, GARBA'S TRAVELS, ETC.
EASUM

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: Z
Capture Date: 01-Jan-1994 12:00:00 am
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: PROVINCE, POLITICAL SETTLEMENT, DIPLOMATIC DISCUSSIONS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Sent Date: 28-Apr-1977 12:00:00 am
Decaption Date: 22 May 2009
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 22 May 2009
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1977LAGOS04772
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: D770148-1186
Format: TEL
From: LAGOS
Handling Restrictions:
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1977/newtext/t19770410/aaaaahzo.tel
Line Count: 308
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History: Hold (001 Tobacco) added on 4/16/2009 3:39:09 PM by WASHDCMcGoldRJ, Hold (001 Tobacco) removed on 4/16/2009 3:45:06 PM by WASHDCMcGoldRJ (Litigation Hold Lifted)
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: 0ce3b39b-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ACTION SS
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 6
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Reference: 77 LAGOS 4644
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 15-Nov-2004 12:00:00 am
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 2660423
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: ANGOLA/ZAIRE: GARBA\'S MEETING WITH MOBUTU
TAGS: PFOR, CG, AO, (MOBUTU SESE SEKO), (GARBA, JOSEPH N)
To: STATE
Type: TE
vdkvgwkey: odbc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/0ce3b39b-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
22 May 2009
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009